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July 9th, 1842.

51-1f

ORIGINAL.

Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery.

AN ADDRESS, DELIVERED IN THE SIXTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CINCINNATI, MARCH 19, 1843.

Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law.—ROMANS 14, 10

Very much has been said, and much written of man's agency, and accountability, but when all is said that can be said, for or against, it amounts to this at last: Heaven has implanted the heart of every human being a consciousness of his accountability. There is a living conviction in the mind of every man, that he is an accountable creature, and must answer for his actions to some superior being. This is the case with all savage, as well as civilized men. The savage feels a conviction, that he is a subject of accountability, and must answer for his conduct. This conviction fans the flames of all idolatrous sacrifices, and the great objects to be secured, and also the nature and design of the moral government of God.

I have selected the text just announced, 1st, to call your attention to one great object of the divine government—the great object; and 2d, to redeem the pledge given to examine those passages of scripture, which are thought by some to favor slavery.

All intelligent beings act from motives—they have design in all they do. The great Jehovah being an intelligent being must have acted with design in his divine legislation, and we now enquire what that design was—what was the great object of establishing the moral government of the universe. Some say it was to secure the honor and dignity of the Throne of God—the rights of divine sovereignty. This is hard to sustain, because Jehovah is immutable; he cannot change, his rights cannot be invaded; what he now has, he always has, and ever will be. The whole universe could not put forth an arm long enough to reach even to the foundations of his throne. The concentrated fires of nature could not throw a single ray of brightness on those foundations. While he tempts no man, he cannot be tempted, he dwells beyond temptation's reach. Not so with his creatures. They are placed in such a variety of circumstances, and their relations to each other are such, that the moral government of God is

necessary to make the possession of the powers with which intelligent beings are endowed safe to those with whom they are connected. The great design of the divine law, is to make moral agents act right towards those with whom they may be associated. Religion does not consist, so much in what some call devotion to God, as in acts of righteousness to man. True devotion is humble obedience. While we are to love God with all our hearts, we are to love our neighbors as ourselves, which is also with our whole hearts. Obedience to the divine law brings our powers under contribution to each other's good, to make them act well on each other. Actions have tendencies irrespectively of any moral character which may be given them by law. Were I to strike my brother, here, with my might, that act would inflict pain, had no prohibition of it been given. Our powers may be employed in producing happiness or misery; and the great design of the divine law, is, to make them produce of delight. This is the principle established in the text: "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor," and therefore fulfills the law. What the law requires, love performs. Love fills the measure of the law, when God has given man for the government of his whole life, and to work ill to my neighbor, is at once the object and fulfillment of this law. What then, we inquire, is its object? To prevent the making of any being miserable. A heart that can delight to inflict pain on a fly is at war with the principles of the law of God, and is unlike the holy one. Now as love fulfills the law because it worketh no ill to any; its great object must be to make the possession of the powers bestowed on man, safe to those with whom he is associated.

Permit me to illustrate this position. Suppose large pipes were placed on each side of this house just over the heads of the people, one filled with scalding water, & the other with odors as fragrant, and as exhilarating as the airs of heaven; and small pipes connecting with these large ones passed just over each pipe, with stop cocks in each pipe, within the reach of every individual in the house, and every one might turn a key, & let in a stream of scalding water, or odor as he might choose. The hand that might turn a water key, would, in all probability, be the first injured, but not the only sufferer. Now would it be unreasonable to prohibit the actor from injuring himself, and those around him would such a requirement be wrong or appropriate? Surely not.

But suppose these hands cannot be still, that they or so constituted that they must turn one or the other keys, would it not be impossible for him, who might be the author of this state of things, to require each hand to turn one of the other keys, to prevent it from turning a hot water one, and thus make every hand contribute to its own happiness, and that of those with whom it might be associated. Let every hand be raised, and every other key turned, and, at once, the place is filled with the sweetnes of Heaven—These keys and pipes may serve to represent the arrangement of the moral government of God.

Actions have tendencies; some produce felicity, others infelicity. The immorality within us is a principle of living fire, of unceasing activity—Throw the soul into a state of quiet, and you might as well annihilate it. Action is to the mind what breathing is to the body; it has no life but in action. The great design of the government of life, and the cause thereof to flow deeper and larger in waves of increasing delight, to bear creation forward, and still forward toward the throne from which pours forth all that a God of Love can impart. And this is done in a way which will multiply the bands which unite so-called beings. It makes them instruments of each other's happiness, increases their obligations to each other. What wisdom, what love in this arrangement! How near will the operation of this principle, through an eternal Heaven, bring the inhabitants of worlds of joy together! It will emphatically make all one. With delight will this arrangement be contemplated through eternity. Let none suppose for one moment that the moral government of God will not require obedience in Heaven, for the perfection of earthly obedience, is to do the will of God on earth as it is done in Heaven.

"Love worketh no ill to his neighbor." But who is my neighbor? Some may be ready to answer; the man next door, or the person across the street, or on the next farm. Their neighborhood does not extend beyond the shadow of the smoke of their chimneys. They are not willing to admit that the slave in the south is their neighbor; they do not want to know that he is. Let us examine who are our neighbors. The word in the original command, to love our neighbor as ourselves, is, *that's the name*; it comes from the verb *resemble*, to see and means the person seen. The neighbor is the *seen or perceived person*.—This comports with our Lord's definition, in the case of the man who fell among thieves. He was a Jew; the Priest went down on one side and the Levite on the other; but the Samaritan, who lived much further from him than either of them, took him to the inn and relieved his wants. Our Lord asked who was neighbor to the man who fell among thieves? The Jews answered, he who showed him kindness, and our Lord accepted of the answer. Now according to the literal meaning of that word, any person that I can see or perceive is my neighbor, and according to the Saviour, any person to whom I can show kindness. We can do some act of kindness to all, even to the slave over the river, and are therefore neighbors, but I can send up prayer to God for him. If I be not a good man, I ought to be, and what I ought to be may be, and the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man, would be a kindness; hence as the good man can thus pray for all, he is neighbor to all. The human being does not live for whom I cannot pray—to whom I cannot do kindness. I can pray for the Greenlander shivering in his mountains of perpetual snow, or the panting African sheltered from the vertical sun, by his spreading palm tree; for the black foot Indian who ranges the steeps of the Rocky Mountains, or the deluded Hindoo mother, who cast her child into the waves of the Ganges. Away with the mistaken notion, I will use scripture language and say, *damnable heresy*, which confuses our sympathies, our christian affections to a circle of the world, any person that I can see or perceive is my neighbor.

It is understood that a large part of the money expended by the United States upon public works, such as fortifications, navy yards, and the like, in the South, is paid not to the slave, not to the laborer who do the work, but to the wealthy masters who rob the poor of their wages, in the characters of owners of slaves. It is said that Dr. Mallory, the gentleman who has so eagerly given place to Mr. Wise, is making a fortune by the labors of his slaves at the Navy yard at Norfolk. Measures were taken during the session, designed to bring this subject to the notice of Congress, but unfortunately, through a slight oversight, they were rendered ineffectual for this time. The way was this, and it may serve as a caution to heretics. It was thought that the bill making appropriations for fortifications would furnish the best occasion for bringing up the subject, by moving a proviso that no part of the money shall be paid for the labor of slaves. A member was furnished with some data, but when the bill came up, his attention was withdrawn for a moment, and there being no other amendment proposed, the bill was laid aside and the chance was gone. Among the data which were intended to be used, there was a statement of some recent proceedings of the people in the neighborhood of the United States navy yard at Norfolk, Va. The present "hard times," are putting the white Democrats of the South to their wits for the means of support, and re thus aggravating the competition of slave-labor. The subject was taken up boldly by the editor of the Portsmouth Old Dominion, who published an article on the injustice of employing slave-labor on the public works. The Norfolk Herald at first seconded the idea, and said:

I appeal to my brethren, does slavery work ill? If it does it conflicts with the law of Love, which fulfills the law of God—is the law of God. I think none who heard me last night can doubt for a moment that it works ill, and it does, it falls under the condemnation of scripture. "But, one says, show me." Well I think I can do it, and I will try presently. But slavery has assumed such a variety of forms, shapes and phases, that to condemn it in one form would not cover the whole ground, or even in many forms would leave some modifications of it uncondemned. The scriptures

originally introduced among us, was *agriculture* and not to do the work of the Government."

The Richmond Whig chimed in:

"EMPLOYMENT OF SLAVES. The Norfolk Herald is right. The suppression of white men, in the trades they have learned, by the labor of slaves, is wrong in principle, and directly calculated to make Abolitionism stronger where slaves exist than any where else. There should be no slave-carpenters—nor bricklayer—nor stone mason—nor ditcher—nor any slave bred to any mechanical art. Or, if perchance there should be such a slave, his master should not permit him to come in competition with free men, but keep him at home. We have no idea that the citizens of this country are to be deprived of the profits of their trades—possibly compelled to expatriate—because the rich owner of many slaves may find a means of increasing his profits, by training some of his slaves to the handicraft arts. The soil—the soil only—is the place and the work for slaves, and to that they ought to be confined. This affair is of more significance than at first would appear."

How our Northern farmers will relish the idea that agriculture is peculiarly the business of slaves, we will not anticipate. But the Whig is clearly right in saying, "this affair is of more significance than at first sight would appear."

On the 9th of February a public meeting was held of the citizens of Portsmouth, Va., at the town hall, J. M. Binford in the chair, and W. Forbes, secretary.

The objects of the meeting having been explained by the chairman, on motion, a committee consisting of Dr. Wm. I. Cocco, James E. Wilson, Maurice L. Tabb, Henry V. Neimeyer and Stephen James, were appointed to present a preamble and resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting, on the subject of the petition about to be presented to Congress, with regard to the employment of white in preference to black laborers on the public works of the General Government.

The committee, after having retired for a short time, presented the following preamble and resolutions, viz:

Whereas, A state of distress now prevails in this community, particularly affecting the laboring part of the people, unprecedented in the annals of our town and country. And believing as we do, that in times like the present it becomes the duty of every Philanthropist to do all that he can to relieve suffering humanity.

And whereas, A portion of the labor in the Gosport Navy is now being done by black men, that would be willingly done by white men, who are now ready and anxious to do the same.

Therefore, Resolved, That we highly approve of the petition about to be presented to the Congress of the United States, [or whoever has the control of the subject], which has for its object to do this labor to white men, who are to do the same for a fair compensation.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the course that has been taken by the editor of the Chronicle and Old Dominion on this subject, and confidently believe, that when it is fully understood by the people generally, that it will meet their most decided approbation, although the editors and correspondents of other newspapers may attempt to give it a coloring, a shade which it can never bear.

We do not find from the journals that the projected petition ever came before Congress. Perhaps it was kept back out of delicacy to Dr. Mallory, who would undoubtedly have felt a little queer in presenting it. If so, it may come up at the next session, and be presented by Mr. Wise, as one of the trophies of his revenge against the Senate for the rejection of his appointment.

The last resolution will not be fully understood without some elucidation, which, fortunately, we are enabled to furnish. It appears that the Norfolk Herald, which was at first, so prompt to favor the new doctrine, was very soon taught better by its Bosphorus patrons, who can say with the ancient silversmiths, "by this craft we have our wealth." In a few days after the first notice, the Herald united with the Beacon, in denouncing the proposition as "subversive of the ends of the abolitionists," declaring that "the initiation of the employment of slave-labor by the Federal Government, is what those fanatics have been always aiming at," and is "the precursor of its exclusion from the entire South," and that its success would be "a measure, than which nothing that the abolitionists have ever done or can do, could inflict a more fatal blow on the rights and institutions of the South." The luckless editor of the Herald, who was at once denounced as an abolitionist in disguise, or at least an "emissary of the abolitionists," and his course as "treason to the South." It was to sustain their champion, the champion of free-labor in Virginia, that the last resolution was prepared and passed. It thus appears that the antagonism of free and slave-labor, is becoming manifest in Virginia, and this question will come up in the next Democratic Congress, with great interest. We tell the white Democrats of Virginia, that the Democratic party of the North, is absolutely and irrevocably committed by its leaders, as the "natural ally" of the slave-holder, and they will have to abandon that organization for that of the true, the impartial Democracy, before they get their grievances redressed. Of that party, it will be an unending rule, not to pay a rich man for the work done by a poor man, but to secure to the laborer his just wages, for his own benefit.

In the meantime, we add to the numerous other developments of the internal conflict which are arising in the bosom of the slave States, between the handful of slave owners and the immense mass of white freemen, who now no slaves, and who are kept in absolute degradation by the lordly planters. The last number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter contains an admirable address to the non-slave-holders of the South, prepared, we believe, by Judge Jay in which there is a tremendous array of facts and figures, bearing on this question. We hope it will be widely circulated among those for whose benefit it was prepared.—The Richmond Whig has a bold stand, not exactly on the same line, but yet in opposition to the slave-holders. We transfer a paragraph for future reference:

"The principle is that the owners of the country—the white race—have a right to put their sons to what trade they please, in which, having become proficient, by apprenticeship, the large slave-holder has no right to render their business unprofitable, by bringing his slaves into competition with them."

Free labor cannot withstand this competition. The rich man's carpenter or blacksmith, having no family to support, can afford, or his master can make to underwork the free laborer, and will invariably do it.

It is not that the free laborer charges too high for his work, but that the black laborer can make money for his master, by underbidding him.

If we desire a white population to abide in Virginia, that shall be equal to the defense of her independence, the competition of slave-labor with white, ought to be instantly and effectually suppressed. Otherwise we must soon become what Janus and Barabara lately were—a handful of proprietors and millions of slaves, to whom the element of knowledge was only wanting, to make them arbiters of the public destiny.

We are opposed to this state of things or to any thing which may lead to it; and we should, therefore, be pleased to see a law passed making it unlawful to instruct any slave in the handicraft arts."—Richmond Whig. Feb. 17.

The Beautiful Slave.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

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EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI.

Wednesday, April 5, 1845.

A Dissertation on Slavery.

With a proposal for the gradual abolition of it, in the State of Virginia, by St. George Tucker, Professor of Law in the University of William and Mary, and one of the Judges in the General Court in Virginia—Printed in 1796.

Such a dissertation could not be published in Virginia, at the present day, without subjecting its author to the Penitentiary. The simple motto with which St. George Tucker adorned his title-page, would be enough in these days to reduce the most distinguished son of Virginia, to the disagreeable necessity of living on bread and water amidst a gang of condemned criminals.

It is a quotation from Montesquieu:—“Slavery not only violates the Laws of Nature, and of civil society; it also wounds the best forms of Government: in a Democracy, where all men are equal, slavery is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution.” But, when this Dissertation was written, Virginia had not yet learned to bend the neck—her spirit was free, her utterance unshackled—the slaveholder had not yet ventured to gag her free sons, that he might with more security bind chains upon his black slaves. Times are changed. The white people of Virginia now number 740,000; but not a man of them can lawfully write or speak against slavery, or even take from the Post Office such a dissertation as St. George Tucker wrote in 1796, because 50,000 slaveholders have forbidden them. The entire white population has lost its liberties under the same system which has ground the black race to the dust.

Meanwhile let us refresh ourselves with glimpses at the ancient spirit of Virginia.

The style in which the distinguished professor in the University of William and Mary, exposes the inconsistency of his state, in perpetuating slavery, while professing devotion to the largest liberty, reminds one of that “modern abolitionism” which is now so offensive to the Old Dominion.

“Among the blessings which the Almighty hath showered down on these states, there is a large portion of the bitterest draught, that ever flowed from the cup of affliction. Whilst America hath been the land of promise to Americans, and their descendants, it hath been the vale of death to millions of the wretched sons of Africa. The general light of liberty, which hath been shone with unrivaled lustre on the former, hath yielded no comfort to the latter, but to them hath proved a pillar of darkness, whilst it hath conducted the former to the most enviable state of human existence. Whilst we were offering up our souls at the shrine of Liberty, and sacrificing hecatombs upon her altars; whilst we swore irreconcilable hostility to her enemies, and hurled defiance in their faces; whilst we adjured the God of Battles to witness our resolution to live free, or die, and imprecated curses on their heads who refused to unite with us in establishing the empire of freedom, we were imposing upon our fellow men, who differ in complexion from us, a slavery, ten thousand times more cruel than the utmost extremity of those grievances and oppressions of which we complained. Such are the inconsistencies of human nature; such the blindness of those who pluck not the beam out of their own eyes, whilst they can spy a mote in the eyes of their brother; such that partial system of morality which confuses rights and injuries to particular complexions; such the effect of that self-love which justifies or condemns, not according to principle, but to the agent. Had we turned our eyes inwardly when we supplicated the Father of Mercies to aid the injured and oppressed; when we invoked the Author of Righteousness to attest the motives, and the justice of our cause; and implored the God of Battles to aid our exertions in its defense, should we not have stood more self-convinced than the contrite publican? Should we not have left our gift upon the altar, that we might be first reconciled to our brethren whom we held in bondage? Should we not have loosed their chains and broken their fetters? Or if the difficulties and danger of such an experiment prohibited the attempt during the convulsions of a revolution, is it not our duty to embrace the first moment of constitutional health and vigor to effectuate so desirable an object, and to remove from us a stigma, with which our enemies will never fail to upbraid us, nor our conscience to reproach us?”

Mr. Tucker then notices the introduction of slavery into this country. “The first introduction of it into Virginia was by the arrival of a Dutch ship from the coast of Africa, having twenty negroes aboard, who were sold there in the year, 1620. In the year 1638 we find them in Massachusetts. They were introduced into Connecticut soon after the settlement of that colony, that is to say, about the same period.”

As to the rightfulness of slavery, the professor adopted the opinions and reasonings of the Author of the Commentaries on the Laws of England. These are summed up in the following words.

“If neither captivity nor the sale of one's self can be by the law of nature and reason reduce the parent to slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring”—upon which Mr. Tucker remarks, “Thus by the most clear, manly, and convincing reasoning does this excellent author refute every claim upon which the practice of slavery is founded, or by which it has been supposed to be justified, at least in modern times.”

Such were the sentiments of one of the leading men of Virginia, in 1796. Indeed, he seems anxious to sweep away all ground for apology. For, says he, “we were even to admit, that a captive taken in a just war, might be his conqueror be reduced to a state of slavery, this could not justify the claim of Europeans to reduce the natives of Africa to that state: it is a melancholy though well known fact, that in order to furnish supplies of these unhappy people for the purposes of the slave trade, the Europeans have constantly, by the most insidious (I had almost said infernal) arts, fomented a kind of perpetual warfare among the ignorant and miserable people of Africa; and instances have not been wanting where, by the most shameful breach of faith, they have trepanned and made slaves of the sellers as well as the sold. That such horrid practices have been sanctioned by a civilized nation; that a nation armed, in the cause of liberty, and enjoying its blessings in the fullest extent, can continue to vindicate a right established upon such a foundation; that a people who have declared ‘that all men by nature are equally free and independent,’ and have made this declaration the first article in the foundation of their government, should in defiance of so sacred a truth, recognized by themselves in so solemn a manner, and on so important an occasion, tolerate a practice incompatible therewith, is such an evidence of the weakness and inconsistency of human nature, as every man who hath a spark of patriotic fire in his bosom must wish

to see removed from his own country. If ever there was a cause, if ever an occasion, in which all hearts should be united, every nerve strained, and every power exerted, surely the re-tortion of human nature to its inalienable rights is such.”

By the way, the note which Mr. Tucker appends to this part of his book in relation to the rise of the slave trade, reminds us of an anecdote we lately saw in one of our exchanges. About the year 1760 a meeting of merchants was held at Belfast Ireland, to form a company for trading in slaves. After certain preliminaries had been disposed of, and documents prepared for signatures, a gentleman who had till then been silent, arose & with terrible emphasis, exclaimed—“May the hand that first signs papers for this infernal traffic be blotted by the God of Justice—the God of the black as well as the white man!” The meeting broke up without signatures, and never assembled again.

We would give a good price, even in these hard times, to know the name of that noble Irishman.

We have crowded our columns lately with so many long articles, that we must postpone further notice of this very interesting Dissertation.

The West Indies—Want of Labor—Emigration from Africa.

Our readers are aware, that among the great and wholesome changes, consequent upon the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, the demand for labor there has increased to a surprising degree. It seems that the government has at last determined to satisfy this want, by importing free laborers from Sierra Leone, restricting the operation for the present to this place, except in the case of recaptured Africans. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society are deeply apprehensive that the movement may stimulate the internal slave traffic in Africa, and embolden Spain, Brazil and other holding countries, to allow a new species of slave-trade.

“Free African labor,” they are satisfied, “except to a limited extent at Sierra Leone and Gambia, cannot be gotten, notwithstanding the confident assertions to the contrary:

“The Kroos and Fishmen, who will be invited to go to the West Indies when Sierra Leone is exhausted, are not free in such a sense as to constitute them voluntary agents in their engagements with the Government or the planters. Their chiefs must be consulted, and presents given, before they will consent to their departure from their homes; and then their wives and children will be retained in pawn until their return, when it is more than probable the chiefs will come in for the lion's share of their earnings. This is the case now. Moreover, we are satisfied, that, when the chiefs have assented, compulsion will be used to make the Kroos, who prefer to the coast of Africa to the West Indies, willing to go wheresoever the agent may appoint.

Lord Stanly may pledge his responsibility that this shall not be the case. We beg to tell the noble Lord that we cannot accept the pledge in the present case. The public eye will not be on the agent in Africa, the public voice cannot control his movements. His instructions may be perfect; but that is no guarantee that they will be faithfully observed. Besides, Lord Stanly agrees that Kroos may resort to the colonies unaccompanied by their wives and families, or by any females, whatsoever. The horrible results of such an arrangement may be imagined, but decency forbids their mention. Is the noble Lord prepared, as a Christian man, to bear the responsibility on his conscience; or, having admitted the arrangement to hold good as respects the introduction of Kroos into Mauritius, does he feel himself bound, in consistency, to admit it in reference to the importation of Kroos into the West Indies? We sit in the contemplation of these things.”

Our British Anti-Slavery friends have abundant reason to be alarmed. Lord Stanly's plan appears very plausible, but scarcely more so than did the project of Sir John Hawkins, the first Englishman who engaged in the slave trade. A statement of this project, and how it worked, as given in an old Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia, printed in London 1779, will show how little the origin of the slave-trade as carried on by the English, differs from the Emigration plan of Lord Stanly.

In 1562, Sir John Hawkins, having secured the patronage of Sir Lionel Duckett, Sir Thomas Lodge and Sir William Winter, to his plan for transporting African laborers to the western world, where the European was enabled to work, set sail for Africa, and in a few weeks arrived at Sierra Leone, where he began to trade with the natives. He commenced by giving them a glowing description of the country whither he was bound, contrasted it with the barrenness of their country, pointed to their nakedness and destitution, and promised them plenty to eat and drink, and large recompence, and a happy life, if they would go along with him. He plied them with trinkets and food and clothes, and assured them that in the strange country, the people were as kind and generous as himself. The negroes were deceived, and “three hundred stout fellows” consented to embark with him. An assault being made upon them the night before his departure, he rushed upon the assailants, took several of them prisoners of war, and carried them too on board his vessels. He then set sail for Hispaniola, but kept up throughout the voyage, a marked distinction between the emigrants, & the prisoners of war, and when he sold them all to the Spanish planters, he was at great pains to insist upon this distinction. But the Spaniards bought them all at the same rate, and it mattered nothing to them, which gang came voluntarily, which against their wills—they were henceforth all alike slaves.

Such was the mild beginning of the Anglo-African slave-trade, which has filled the world with unutterable horrors;—and we confess that in our estimation, Lord Stanly's Emigration plan snatches too much of Sir John Hawkins's Transportation scheme.

Freedom in the West Indies.

Some time since, a correspondent admonished us to be careful in publishing accounts about the West Indies, lest we should mislead people. It seems that we had inserted an article from a Jamaica paper, giving a flattering statement of the crops &c., which some wise friend of our correspondent said was attributable to the peculiarly favorable state of the season, compared with the previous one. For the benefit of this gentleman we cut the following extracts at random from the London Anti Slavery Reporter, which copies them from West India papers.

GRENADA.—The Grenada papers to the 29th of

October are without news of any importance. The October session of the Supreme Court was held on the 25th—“The Grand Jury,” says the *Chronicle*, “having been addressed by the Chief Justice on the peaceful state of the country, and the diminution of crime, retired to their room, and in the course of the day brought in two bills,”—one, arson, and the other stabbing. The prisoner in the former case was, “after a patient investigation,” acquitted, and the other traversed to the December term. These constituted the entire criminal proceedings of the Court.

TOBAGO.—From the address of the Chief Justice to the Grand Jury, we make the following extract, to show the general freedom from crime of the emancipated population. His Honor said:—“It is with extreme satisfaction I inform you that the cases to be submitted to your consideration are few, and not of an aggravated character—one excepted. It is gratifying,” he added, “to observe the steady progress of the laboring classes in the paths of civilization.”—6th of October.

ST. LUCIA CROPS.—“Returns of Colonial Produce, on which export duty has been paid into the treasury during five years from 1838 to 1842, both inclusive:—

	SUGAR.	COFFEE.
1838	5,533,320	135,008
1839	5,151,108	145,832
1840	3,683,820	303,820
1841	4,677,350	67,251
1842	6,405,365	144,441

	COCA.	RUM.
1838	38,590	6930
1839	54,639	11,350
1840	82,293	9,900
1841	78,225	10,900
1842	47,625	9,900

	MOLASSES.	WINE.
1838	110,000	108
1839	119,000	212
1840	73,200	206
1841	103,800	132
1842	127,600	114

	TONS.
1838	108
1839	212
1840	206
1841	132
1842	114

“This official Return of produce shipped this year, notwithstanding the severe drought, contains the most satisfactory proof of the success which has attended the working of the estates during the past season; and we trust it will satisfy our planters that they need only turn to proper account the labor which they have at command, to accomplish the result which we have steadily maintained to be practicable; namely, to produce by the free labor of our existing estates, crops of sugar equal to those raised by the compulsory labor of the whole population while in the state of slavery.”—November 24.

DOMINICA.—From the latest agricultural report on the state of the colony, we learn that the cane fields are looking well, and their appearance pleasing to sight; but that there appears to be a backwardness in the opening of land for the crop of 1843.” The report complains that the improvements introduced into other islands have not yet reached Dominica, and urges upon the planters the duty of using the “improved plough,” and of easing “the negroes as much as possible of the heaviest work on the estate,” not because it advances their interests; but because it “desires to see the planters prospering.”—Dominican.

BRITISH GUIANA.—It is well for sugar planters to denounce all men as idle, who do not work in the cane field; and to consider all labor not devoted to the production of sugar, as no better than sheer indolence. But it is only fair in forming an estimate of the true amount of the industry of the Berbice laborers during the last four years, to take into account what they have done for themselves, as well as what they have done for their employers. Now, besides the produce made in Berbice since the emancipation, and the plantation cottages and other buildings erected, the laborers of Berbice, as appears from a return now before us, have, within that period, built for themselves no less than eleven hundred and eighty-four freehold cottages. To these cottages attached about seven thousand acres of land, purchased at a cost of upwards of a hundred thousand dollars, and put into cultivation in proportion. These freeholds are occupied by two hundred and thirty-three families, including four hundred and sixty-two slaves.

In our country, whose government is founded on the assumption of the natural freedom and equality of rights of the human race, and whose religion condemns slavery, root and branch, the present on the planters the duty of using the “improved plough,” and to free and enlightened citizens, but where greater atrocities are perpetrated against the most manifest laws of justice and humanity than in any other country in the world.

We conclude by reminding our readers of the obligations which we owe His Highness the Bey of Tunis for being the first Prince of Africa who has declared slavery to be a crime, and in an age when Christians continue to hold man as property to be bought and sold, liberated slaves as an immediate consequence of that noble, that just, that humane declaration—and by exhorting them to support His Highness to the utmost of their power in consolidating his authority over the impounding destitutes of Northern Africa.

Governor Shannon.

And the man that stole his own wife and children.

We as again, is it true that the Democratic Governor of this state has issued his warrant for the arrest and delivery of a man, who had taken his wife and children from Slavery to Freedom? IS IT TRUE! The Rev. Jno. Rankin of Ripley is our authority. He says, he believes it is true. If so, the name of Shannon should be rung from one end of the continent to the other, as a word of infamy. What! arrest a man, and deliver him up to the bloody slave-hunter, to be consigned to the penitentiary for ten years, for loving and protecting his wife and children, for doing for them that which God had made it his duty to do, and for neglecting which he might justly be damned! Has it come to this? Have we a Governor base enough to assume that it is a crime for a husband and father, peacefully to take his wife and children from bondage which exposes the former every moment to a ravening lust, and the latter to the clutches of the soulless soul-driver, and to place them, where alone they may fulfil to him the duties, which the word of God has enjoined upon them under the most solemn sanctions? If we have, let the world know it, and if but three-fifths of the people of Ohio have the hearts of men, Governor Shannon will ere long be thrust down to the extremest depths of political degradation. Aye, and if this thing be true, were there virtue enough in the men of the Buckeye State, he would be impeached for gross inhumanity. Why, were the lightnings of heaven to blast the man, who should put forth his impious hand to arrest a father and a husband, for saving his wife and offspring from the blood and lust and chains of slavery, the very stones would cry out that his doom was just.

Again we ask, and again we intend to ask, is it true, that Governor Shannon has done this infamous deed?

French Colonies.

By the Report of the Minister of Marine, the whole population of the French Colonies in America, Seneca, the Isle of Bourbon, and in the East Indies, amounted, December 31st, 1839, to 555,525, 277,794 males, 277,731 females.

In Martinique, the free population numbers, 40,733, and the slaves, 74,323. In Gaudaloupe and the neighboring islands, free people, 36,360; slaves, 93,046. At Bourbon, free people, 37,726; slaves, 66,013.

French Guiana, free people, 5,654; slaves, 15,519.

Marriages (so called) among slaves in the French colonies are very rare. During six years, from 1834 to 1839, on an average, there were at Martinique, 17, at Gaudaloupe, 12, and at Bourbon, 0.

As an illustration of the destructiveness of slavery, we may note,

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Poetry.

From the World of Freedom.

New Hampshire to Massachusetts.

We greet thee, elder Sister, that from thy lip has broke
The voice of warning and rebuke, as if a prophet spoke—
Unshackled as the mountain winds that o'er thy valley's
sweep,

And mingling with the swelling waves their Ocean to them keep.

Our yearnancy have paused to catch the spirit-thrilling
tone,

The poet's soul around thy words has beautifully thrown,
And the maiden stops her wheel to cast her flashing
eye

Along the page where seems to ring, the Bay State's ban-
ner'd city.

The schoolboy up among our hills has caught its words of
truth;

And shouts them with the fiery heart, and eloquence of
youth;

And speaks the soul and stirs the blood of grey and aged
men

As if they heard the voice of Stark, or Langdon's words
again.

God shelter thee, Old Bay State—amid the storms of time,
A towering landmark crowned with light above this waste
of crime,

While on thy scald and dented crest, we write with words
of cheer,

The name no hand shall dare to blot—Young Freedom's
Pioneer.

So if the Ancient Mother State will bow to tyrant knaves,
And quench the light of freedom's fire in blood of tortured
slaves,

The living coals of searching truth, upon her altars thrown,
We tear the laurel from her brows, to wreath about thine

own.

And to the conflict for the right the Granite State shall
come,

With the bugle's crashing peal or roll of battle drum,
But with the light arm of her faith on freedom's altar laid,

The chart of human rights her shield, its truth her battle
blade.

Up from the unbwna altars upon her rocky hills,
The silver streams her valleys bear, her prating mountain
rills—

From every gushing fountain that sings its joyous hymn,
Mid broken light, and crystal waves above its granite rim.

And hailing to thy stirring words, their stern and lofty tone,
An echo like the tempest's shout along our hills has gone,

And listening to the summons the crimson leaves their toll,

The embowed and hasty Father to, the mother of the sun
soul.

We note the hastening in thy veins of Pilgrim blood again,
And the flashing of thy falchion's edge around the slave's
den,

The cheering sound of Freedom's voice her champion's
trumpet call,

The snowy folds of Victory's flag upon its shattered wall.

We note thy clear unshaken voice as when in ages past
The Saxon tongue first sent its tones along thy wint'ry
blast,

And wanderers of the imprisoned East from yonder icy
rock,

Chanted their hymn of faith and praise above the surge's
shock.

As when on Bunker's bloody height the cry of conflict rang,
Above the cannon's roar reply or battle trumpet's clang,

When strong hearts leapt to hear again thy tocsin's start-
ing shrills,

And worshipped with the Parsee's faith the watch-fires on
thy hills.

And yet no sabre's bloody edge, nor flash of crimsoned
steel,

The gatherings of thy serried ranks to fearful eyes reveal;

But in their stead the holy words of pure eternal truth,

They armor in thy riper years, thy panoply in youth.

PACIFUS.

NUMBER VIII.

THE REMEDY.

Mr. EDITOR: I have now stated, generally, the constitutional rights of the people of the free States concerning slavery, and have referred to some of the most prominent abuses to which those rights have been subjected. It remains for me to call the attention of my readers to the remedy. But this will at once suggest itself to the mind of every reader, and each will say that our remedy consists in a *united vindication of our rights*; that the real difficulty consists in our divisions, and our efforts should be to unite the friends of the northern rights. In order to do this, we must search out the cause of our division, and understand distinctly the point on which we separated.

If I understand our Liberty men, they are anxious to maintain the rights of the free States, and they ask for nothing more. I speak upon the authority of many leading men of that party, who have never met with an intelligent man who asked or demanded any thing more than this; yet they say, "The Whigs have neglected a portion of our most important rights, and they feel it their duty to separate from them, and to form a distinct party, whose principal efforts are to be directed to the maintenance of such of our rights as have been neglected by the Whigs." It was

not my intention, when I commenced the essays, to throw censure upon any class of men, nor is such my present object; I may, however, be permitted to say, that I think our Liberty friends did not well "define their position" before they separated from us. For the correctness of this remark, I will refer to the recollection of the great mass of our people of all parties. At the time of separating from us, they had not early set forth to the world our rights, which had been trampled upon; nor did they state, with perspicuity, the abuses which they sought to correct. Neither did they definitely mark the boundaries, and limit the extent of the political reform which they were endeavoring to effect. On the contrary, there was a degree of obscurity pervading the objects. They professed opposition to slavery, and left the public to infer a design to invade the privileges of the slave States, instead of maintaining our own. This idea has rested in the minds of a large portion of our people, both in the free and in the slave States. It is true the charge was often denied; and it is equally true that the denial was not carried home to the minds of the great mass of our people; many of whom, to this day, really believe the object of the Liberty party to be an unconstitutional interference with the privileges of the slave States. But, so far as I have been able to learn their motives, and to analyze their views, I understand them to be simply the *preservation of our own rights*; the repeal of all acts of Congress, passed for the support of slavery or the slave trade; to separate the Federal Government, and the free States, from all unconstitutional connexion with that institution, and to leave it with the individual States, where the Constitution placed it. This, I believe, to be the boundary and farthest extent of their political intentions. If they entertain any other or farther views, I hope Judge King (the candidate of the Liberty party for Governor of Ohio) will state to your readers through the Chronicle, the point on which I have failed to express their views. I hope also, that the editors of the Philanthropist and Emancipator will, through their respective papers, set forth definitely any error into which I have fallen, in regard to the designs and objects of their party. But, for the present, taking these to be definite limits to which they aspire, I will respectfully ask the Whigs, as a party, to show me the line of demarcation between them? Is there an individual in the whole Whig party of Ohio, or in the free States, that is willing to surrender a single right

of our people? If there be such a whig, I have not met him. If there be a Whig editor north of Mason and Dixon's line, who is willing to yield up any of the constitutional rights of the free States, I hope he will favor the country with his views; and that he will inform us distinctly which part of the Constitution we ought first to surrender. I speak with great confidence when I say, that I believe no such man can be found. Let the rights of the people of the free States, in regard to slavery, be fairly and distinctly pointed out, and there will be no want of firmness nor of patriotism to maintain them. It is true however, that many Whigs have, and still do oppose the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; but they will assign to you, as the reason, that Congress has not the constitutional power to abolish it. If you then ask them if they are willing that Congress should repeal its own laws, for the support of slavery and the slave trade in that District, they will, at once, answer you in the affirmative. If you inquire whether they are willing to lend their influence, or their property, to support slavery, they will answer you that they detest the institution. If you interrogate them in regard to any other rights of the north, they will unhesitatingly assure you of their determination to sustain them.

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The Rev. Dr. Eastmond, of New York, gave a few to a friend of his, who has been given up to a physician and friends in the last stage of consumption. The physician gave her considerable relief, so that she was never known in instance where they did not give perfect satisfaction. Several hundred boxes have been sold during the past year, restoring to healthy persons in almost every stage of consumption, and those laboring under the most distressing and painful coughs. They do not check and dry the cough, but render it easy promote expectoration, alay the tickling or irritation, and remove the proximate or exciting cause.

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